

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 L-02 ACDA-10 MBFR-02 PM-03 PRS-01

USIA-04 GAC-01 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 OMB-01 NEA-06 RSR-01

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R 112325 Z MAY 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 81

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 2955

USNMR SHAPE

USDOCOSOUTH

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDEL SALT TWO

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

S E C R E T USNATO 2347

LIMDIS

E. O. 11652: X- GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: FRG STATEMENT ON " U. S. APPROACH"

HELSINKI FOR USDEL MPT

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT ON " U. S. APPROACH TO MBFR" GIVEN
BY FRG AMBASSADOR KRAPF IN MAY 11 NAC:

BEGIN TEXT

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1. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT APPRECIATES THAT THE DOCUMENT ON
THE " UNITED STATES APPROACH TO MBFR" HAS NOW BEEN PRESENTED.
WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING FORWARD TO IT WITH GREAT INTEREST. NOT
KNOWING MORE ABOUT THE CONCRETE INTENTIONS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IT WAS RATHER DIFFICULT TO SUBSTANTIALLY DEVELOP OUR OWN CONCEPTS ANY FURTHER. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE ARE UNDER PRESSURE OF TIME. IT APPEARS LIKELY THAT MBFR NEGOTIATIONS WILL GET UNDER WAY SOMETIME IN AUTUMN OF THIS YEAR. OUR EXPERIENCE DURING THE PRELIMINARY TALKS IN VIENNA HAS MADE IT QUITE CLEAR TO ALL OF US THAT WE SHALL ONLY BE ABLE TO GET THE OTHER SIDE TO AGREE TO OUR CONCEPTS AND IDEAS ON MBFR IF OUR DELEGATIONS AT THESE NEGOTIATIONS CAN PROCEED FROM A FIRM POSITION, JOINTLY AGREED WITHIN THE ALLIANCE AND IF THIS POSITION WILL BE MAINTAINED DURING THE FURTHER COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

2. WE WOULD THEREFORE LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS HERE IN THE COUNCIL DURING THE COMING WEEKS CONCENTRATE ON THE DRAFTING OF BASIC GUIDELINES AS SUGGESTED ON PAGE 15 OF THE AMERICAN PAPER. IN THE OPINION OF MY GOVERNMENT, SUCH A PAPER, FORMULATING THE COMMON OBJECTIVES AND INTENTIONS OF MBFR AND PROVIDING GUIDELINES FOR THE ELABORATION OF A CONCRETE NEGOTIATING PROGRAMME, SHOULD BE AVAILABLE TO MINISTERS FOR APPROVAL AT THEIR SPRING MEETING IN MID- JUNE. SUBSTANTIVE AND ESSENTIAL POINTS FOR SUCH A GUIDELINES PAPER HAVE ALREADY BEEN FORMULATED IN THE AMERICAN PAPER.

3. WE ALSO HOLD THE AMERICAN VIEW THAT IN DEVELOPING CONCRETE MBFR NEGOTIATING POSITIONS WE MUST BE GUIDED BY THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINSHED SECURITY OF OUR ALLIANCE ON THE BASIS OF OUR COMMON STRATEGY. WE ALREADY STATED THIS IN MORE OR LESS THE SAME TERMS IN OUR WORKING PAPER OF 22 MARCH 1971 ON FUTURE MBFR NEGOTIATING OPTIONS.

4. WE APPRECIATE THE VIEW, EXPRESSED IN THE AMERICAN DOCUMENT THAT THE THREE MOST IMPORTANT WEST- EAST NEGOTIATIONS PRESENTLY EITHER UNDER WAY OR IN PREPARATION, I. E. SALT, CSCE AND MBFR, ARE ALL ELEMENTS OF A LARGER UNDERTAKING, NAMELY THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORMAL AND MORE STABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST IN EUROPEE.

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5. MY GOVERNMENT, FURTHERMORE, AGREES WITH THE VIEW- AND THIS IS, WE BELIEVE, THE UNDISPUTED AND AGREED POSITION OF ALL ALLIES- THAT THE FORTHCOMING WEST- EAST NEGOTIATIONS, ESPECIALLY MBFR, CAN ONLY BE CONDUCTED WITH PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS IF OUR OWN DEFENCE EFFORTS ARE NOT ONLY CONTINUED WITHOUT REDUCTION BUT ARE EVEN QUALITATIVELY IMPROVED AND IF COOPERATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE IS MADE EVEN MORE EFFECTIVE. THE EUROPEAN STATES MUST FIND A COMMON APPROACH IN THIS RESPECT. THE PROPOSALS ANNOUNCED IN THE AMERICAN PAPER WILL CERTAINLY BE OF HELP IN THIS CONTEXT.

6. IT IS OF THE ESSENCE TO COVER AS LARGE A PART AS POSSIBLE OF THE SOVIET FORCES STATIONED IN EASTERN EUROPE BY PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS, THUS COUNTERBALANCING- TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE-

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND STRUCTURAL ASYMMETRIES BETWEEN NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT. WE BELIEVE THAT THE PROBLEM OF COUNTERBALANCING THIS ASYMMETRY WILL PRESENT THE GREATEST DIFFICULTIES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS IMPORTANT ALSO FOR THIS REASON NOT TO SEE SCOPE AND PROCEDURES OF FORCE REDUCTIONS AS THE EXCLUSIVE OBJECT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THE SOVIET UNION APPROACHES THE FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS IN THE AREA OF SECURITY- POLICY WILL BE OF ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE. THIS IS WHY WE HAVE ALWAYS CALLED ATTENTION TO THE EMINENTLY POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF A TEST- WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE UNDERTAKEN AT AN EARLY TIME IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATING PROCESS - WHETHER AND TO WHAT EXTENT THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE PREPARED TO SUBJECT SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES OF ITS FORCES TO BINDING LIMITATIONS OR BANS. WE ARE THEREFORE PARTICULARLY PLEASED THAT ALL THREE REDUCTION OPTIONS PUT FORWARD BY THE AMERICAN SIDE ARE CONCEIVED AS EMBEDDED IN CONSTRAINTS NEGOTIATIONS AND CONSTRAINTS AGREEMENTS. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN OUR MAIN CONCERN THAT, IN THE END, MBFR MIGHT DEGENERATE INTO A PROCEDURE FOR THE MERE REDUCTION OF FORCES.

8. WE SHALL COMMENT ON THE OPTIONS CONTAINED IN THE AMERICAN PAPER AS SOON AS THEIR EXAMINATION HAS BEEN CONCLUDED BY MY AUTHORITIES.

9. MY GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN THE CONCEPT OF AN MBFR NEGOTIATING PROGRAMME WHICH IS GRADUATED, VERIFIABLE
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AND CALCULABLE IN EACH PHASE. THIS SEEMS TO US TO BE AN IMPORTANT CONCEPTIONAL ELEMENT FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY OF THE ALLIANCE. WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE AMERICAN PAPER TO SOME EXTENT TAKES THESE ASPECTS INTO CONSIDERATION. OUR CONCEPT OF MBFR AS A GRADUATED NEGOTIATING PROCESS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE IMAGINE MBFR TO BE INTERMINABLE NEGOTIATIONS. RATHER, THE IDEA OF THE PHASED APPROACH IS BASED ON THE VIEW THAT A REDUCTION OF FORCES IN EUROPE RAISES NEW AND COMPLEX PROBLEMS WHICH WE CANNOT FULLY EVALUATE TODAY WITH RESPECT TO THEIR MILITARY AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS. WE SHOULD THEREFORE PLAN TO ADVANCE IN STEPS WHICH ARE VERIFIABLE AND CALCULABLE AS TO THEIR EFFECTS. WE SHOULD AVOID UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES TO GET OURSELVES UNDER PRESSURE OF HAVING TO ACHIEVE A SUCCESS OR TO ALLOW THAT FIRST STEPS TOWARDS FORCE REDUCTION PRODUCE THEIR OWN DYNAMICS TOWARDS FURTHER REDUCTIONS WHICH WE CAN NO LONGER CONTROL.

IN THIS RESPECT, EVERY GOVERNMENT WILL BE CONFRONTED WITH SPECIAL INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS WITH WHICH IT WILL HAVE TO DEAL. A POLICY OF INFORMATION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS COORDINATED WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, WILL HAVE TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THIS CONTEXT.

10. FINALLY, I SHOULD LIKE TO CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO A

POLITICAL ASPECT OF MBFR OF WHICH THE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS
OF THE ALLIANCE ARE PERHAPS MORE CLEARLY AWARE THAN OUR
AMERICAN FRIENDS. ANY CONTRACTUAL ARRANGEMENT- AND THIS IS
WHAT WE ARE AIMING AT THROUGH MBFR NEGOTIATIONS- OPS FOR
THE OTHER SIDE AVENUES FOR ATTEMPTING TO EXERT POLITICAL
INFLUENCE ON OUR ALLIANCE. IN THE SHAPING OF THESE ARRANGEMENTS
AND THE CHOICE OF CONTRACTUAL INSTRUMENTS- THAT IS TO SAY THE
CONTENT AND THE PROCEDURE- WE SHALL THEREFORE HAVE TO BE VERY
CAREFUL TO AVOID SUCH POSSIBILITIES AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE AND
TO KEEP THE ARRANGEMENTS STRICTLY RECIPROCAL. WHAT HAS TO BE
AVOIDED ABOVE ALL IS THE EMERGENCE OF A GEOGRAPHICALLY
NARROWLY LIMITED, ARMS- CONTROLLED ZONE IN CENTRAL EUROPE IN
WHICH THE SOVIET UNION IS GRANTED A PARTICULAR RIGHT OF
INTERVENTION. SUCH A DEVELOPMENT COULD HAVE EXTREMELY UNDESIRABLE
REPERCUSSIONS NOT ONLY FOR THE COHESION AND THE FURTHER
DEVELOPMENT OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE BUT, IN PARTICULAR, ON
THE CONTINUATION OF THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION.

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SECRET
NMAFVVZCZ
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Message Attributes

Automatic DecapTIONing: Z
Capture Date: 02 APR 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 MAY 1973
DecapTION Date: 28 MAY 2004
DecapTION Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NATO02347
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730558/abqcdzpi.tel
Line Count: 187
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <19-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: FRG STATEMENT ON " U. S. APPROACH"
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE
SECDEF INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
USNMR SHAPE
USDOCOSOUTH
USLOSACLANT
USCINCEUR
SALT TWO

HELSINKI
MOSCOW
VIENNA

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005